Black and Green

$1.50

THE DUTY TO PRODUCE DESTROYS THE PASSION TO CREATE

Ⓐ A JOURNAL OF SOCIAL ECOLOGY

NUMBER 2/3 FALL/WINTER 1981-82

DIRECT ACTION: EUROPE & US of A

Squatters fly black flags from hundreds of occupied houses in West Berlin; Swiss youth trash downtown windows by night and make elaborate glass objects by day in the workshops of their Autonomous Youth Center; in London, the bricks fly, and even Scotland Yard admits to the existence of an open revolt of black and white youth against the police.

The highly publicized riots that swept over a dozen British cities early this summer are only the most visible manifestation of a new "Youth Revolt" that is sweeping the cities of Western Europe and completely transcending the categories of traditional issue politics. In England, this movement has been perceived as a reaction to youth unemployment and the presence of an increasingly public white supremacist movement. In parts of West Germany and the Netherlands, the focus is upon the lack of affordable housing and increasing repression against squatters. Elsewhere, nuclear weapons and power plants, US intervention in El Salvador and the discrediting of

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diablo canyon ♀ pentagon action Ⓐ vt.&nyc

THE TIDE:

EBBS AND FLOWS OF THE SOCIAL REVOLUTION

WALLA WALLA, WASHINGTON -- Carl Harp, a revolutionary anarchist prisoner, was murdered in his cell at the Washington State penitentiary on September 5. Three weeks earlier, Harp was made aware of a contract out on his life by a member of a gang that refused the contract from their dope suppliers--the guards. Another guard told Harp of the plot as well. His death was set up to look like a suicide. His wrists were slashed and he was hung by a telephone wire. Harp had founded two groups within the prison: Men Against Sexism, to help protect gay prisoners and educate others, and the Anarchist Black Dragon Collective, an underground political group, which still publishes a newsletter by the same name. The inquest, held on October 14, was considered a farce by many; naturally, the verdict was suicide. According to black militant Benny Washington, he and Carl were on a hit list from a group of fascist guards known as either the Washington Cowboys or the Aryan Brotherhood. Fortunately, Benny got wind of his hit and managed to stay alive. Support letters are urgently needed--demand an investigation, removal of the responsible guards , protection for Benny Washington and others threatened by prison staff, and transfer of Carl's comrade, Robert S. Green (628148) to a federal pen. Write Amos Reed, Dir. of Adult Corrections and Gov. John Spellman, both in Olympia, Wash. 98504, also Prison Supt. Kastema, POB 520, Walla Walla 99362. For more info, Scott Weinstein, Solidarity Committee, CP2, Succ.LaCite, Montreal, Quebec H2W 2M9

WASHINGTON, D.C. -- The CIA denied a report last August that they are planning to assassinate Libyan leader Moammar Qaddafi. A CIA spokesman noted that presidential executive order 12036, issued in 1978, stated, "No person employed on behalf of the US government shall engage in or conspire to engage in assassinations." He said the order is "rigidly adhered to in every sense."

TOLEDO, OREGON -- The People's Brigade for a Healthy Genetic Future claimed responsibility for the burning of a privately owned spray helicopter in June. The machine, owned by Western Helicopters, had been leased by the Publishers' Paper Co. to spray herbicides on local forests. The media received a message warning that companies who poison the earth indiscriminately are liable to be struck again by the Brigade.

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BLACK AND GREEN is the journal of the New England Anarchist Conference, a federation of anarchist affinity groups throughout New England and surrounding areas. The Conference was founded in October of 1980 at a meeting of over 150 individuals in Plainfield, Vermont. A second conference, held in Boston in January of 1981, focussed on Anarcha-feminism. Let us know if you would like to initiate the groundswell to organize a third. We sincerely invite your comments, criticisms, analysis and suggestions. The copy deadline for Number 4 is April 1, 1982.

Cost is usually $1 per issue, more if you can afford it, less if you can't. There are a limited quantity of issue #1, containing the NEAC founding statement. Black and Green is free to all prisoners of the state.

This issue was edited and produced by members of the Anarres and Socialist Albania households of Burlington, Vermont, along with other co-conspirators, and printed by the Rhode Island Alternative Press (see p. 31).

ALBANY, NY -- The Springboks, a rugby team from the apartheid regime of South Africa, toured the US this past fall. After opposition to the tour led to the cancellation of matches in NY City, Chicago and 3 other cities, Albany's mayor of 38 years, Erastus Corning, invited the team. Pressure on both sides mounted: nine people were arrested before the planned demonstration took place; the Rugby Association office was attacked; and in the end, more people demonstrated against the match than watched it.

SAN FRANCISCO -- Over 200 women converged on the Bohemian Club, the West Coast's most exclusive social club, over the weekend of Nov. 14 in an action planned to coincide with the Women's Pentagon Action in Washington, D.C. (see p. 10). The women successfully blockaded all of the entrances to the club--no one was seen entering or leaving for the entire weekend. Many of the demonstrators participated in violating the club's famed prohibition against "spiders spinning webs". Antinuclear activists throughout California are currently planning a statewide direct action at the Lawrence Livermore nuclear weapons labs for the first week in Jan.

CHUR, SWITZERLAND -- A Swiss engineering firm has announced that it is halting all exports of components to a Pakistani uranium enrichment plant after a bomb attack and subsequent threats against company executives. The firm, Cora Engineering AG, has refused to release any details, except that "one of the firm's leading employees" was bombed in February, and callers speaking in the name of a "foreign organization" had been threatening further attacks.

MARS -- The Revolutionary Sectarian Vanguard Party from Mars (RSVP) announces its All-Purpose Newsletter Form. Without bothering theCentral Committee, you can show up at any demonstration with a politically and rhetorically correct Special Edition of their newsletter. They supply the rhetoric, and you just rubber stamp the right issue in the blanks. "Abortion Rights","Pro-Life", "No Nukes", "Pro-Nukes", "Gay Rights", any issue you desire can instantly become part of the Martian Dialectic. Send $1 for catalog, $10 for 500 blanks.

ASK EMMA

Comrade Emma, Tovarish Emma,

When the bolsheviks took over the revolution, I decided to join the party and burrow from within. Recently, I was elected to the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. How can I best make use of my position to further the cause of freedom.

Underground in Moscow

Comrade Underground,

If a revolution could be made from the top down, Lenin would have done it. Resign.

Fellow Worker Goldman,

I am troubled. I have always assumed you to be an old-fashioned proletarian revolutionary. Now the countercultural newspaper open road quotes your group as claiming that the working class is actively counter-revolutionary! Forty years I've worked on the line and gone bowling every Friday. Have I been wrong all this time?

X332023

Dear 332023:

If you've been a worker since the early 40's, you should be as aware as we that fundamental changes have occurred. Not only has organized labor established a working relationship as an arm of industrial management, but also all the real challenges to capitalism have come from movements that are not defined in economic terms. The revolution must be a dream of the future, not the past. Any attempt to resuscitate the workers' movement borders on necrophilia.

(More on Class, p. 24; more Emma p. 29)

DIABLO CANYON 1981

SAN LUIS OBISPO, CALIFORNIA

The anti-nuclear movement is alive and well in America--the recent demonstration of strength at Diablo Canyon has shown. Starting September 15th, direct actionists kept the authorities at bay for two weeks while Pacific, Gas & Electric tried to keep the plant open and live up to their "security" as hundreds of people pressed in on all sides of the plant. The first four days saw over a thousand people arrested and the formation of small resistance communities living in the backcountry surrounding the plant. Conspiring--always conspiring, living, growing, working.

Life in the backcountry, in and around Diablo Canyon, proved to be much of what I envisioned Viet-Nam to have been--with ever-present helicopters looking for you--anyone; the constant threat (of arrest instead of death!) and guerrilla-type assaults on the plant. Synchronized with CB communications, waves of people came into the oak covered canyons to reclaim the area in a play of non-violent, creative war sports. At one point in the action, all the utilities' and states' men got caught red-faced for a half an hour because sixty people showed up sitting in the road between security points (six miles apart). "My God, they would have had to hike over mountains for hours to get there!", and that was the spirit of Diablo.

Abalone Alliance organizers were astonished that the majority of action hungry folks came ready to go into the backcountry instead of the gate blockade points--media primed and glutted areas. Why live with coyotes, deer, poison oak, bobcats, sagebrush, fog, and the like instead of being panned by cameras and appearing nationwide? In Diablo Canyon, the boundaries were not so clear as at the gates and those living there, on land inhabited previously by native peoples, had a logistical advantage under which a continuous, permanent campaign against the plant was practical. There may yet still be folks at siege in the canyons of Diablo, for the blockade has not ended, either by the Abalone Alliances' Handbook or in the hearts of those near to Diablo.

Seeds of Seabrook have arisen on the West Coast of America. Both the committment to non-violent direct action and the trend towards building communities for political action are blossoming. In an historical precedent, the Abalone Alliance has agreed to support all continuing actions at the plant which conform to their non-violence code.

The utility has since announced that it mistakenly switched the schematic drawings of reactors 1 and 2 when reinforcing the structures. The need for rebuilding was due to the unfortunate placement of the plant so close (2½ miles) to the Hosgri earthquake fault. Somehow, the NRC, being ever so careful to get this one right this time, let it slip by and had to suspend PG&E's license to save face. After all, they are a part of the state designed to "protect" us. The announcement of this "oversight" was timed with the end of the strong Blockade & Encampment as thousands were returning to their jobs, work and homes. If past performance can be applied, it's time to slap PG&E's wrist, fine them a lot of money(a lot to us, not to the utility) and get the plant on line--collecting profits in Corporate America. The Struggle Continues.

-Victor E. Forallus

direct action, california style

Early last winter, when I first examined the latest version of the Diablo Canyon blockade handbook, it seemed to me that the organizing groups of the Abalone Alliance had set themselves upon an impossible task. They were planning for a concerted blockade of the nuclear plant site, a direct action that would both materially and politically obstruct the beginning of fuelling operations there. But at the same time, they had retained an emphasis upon the traditional, pacifist-inspired style of action that had shaped (some would say "plagued") the earlier years of the american antinuclear movement. On one hand, the action was intended to physically shut the Diablo plant down; on the other, participants were to be "open and respectful" toward the police and refrain from property destruction and even from running. Many of the authors of the new Diablo handbook had been to Seabrook in 1979 and 1980 and seen the distressingly mixed results of abandoning pacifist tactics: on paper, the two actions embodied the promise of a definitive direct action to halt construction at Seabrook, but in practice, we largely alienated the traditional antinuclear constituency while completely failing to mobilize a new one ready to undertake the risks inherent in a more assertive form of action.

In California, activists spent the better part of two years emphasizing affinity group organization, developing confidence in their collective, feminist inspired and consensus-based process and also building trust among people.

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the devil and the deep blue sea

"To be or not to be, that is the point."
Hamlet, first version

NOTE: This is taken from a letter to my friend Breakfast. He's serving four months in Levenworth Federal Minimum Security Prison for violating a federal injunction prohibiting trespassing at the Rocky Flats Nuclear Weapons Factory in Colorado. For obvious reasons he could not leave Kansas and join his affinity group, the Narcoleptics, at the Diablo Blockade.

Dear Breakfast,

It's hard for me to write about the Diablo blockade. For years i've organized for it, dreamed of it, cursed it, and then--suddenly it seemed--i'm standing in the kitchen of King St. House and R. is on the phone telling me "crystal this is no joke, the alert is on!" Then someone else got on their end and said "It's one one five nine and i want to stay alive" giving me our confirmation phrase. Then i was supposed to call a secret number in San Luis Obispo but when i did i got some wierd answering service. So i kept calling the regular numbers in San Luis...the Project Office and so on... and talked to J. and M. and P. too...and getting numbers that didn't work.

Our verification procedure never did work but i knew it was on the moment i heard R. So we went with it and soon Juana Loca and Twisted Love were on the phone to Chico, LA, Boulder, and almost everywhere else you can think of, to call out the righteous (or at least those of us with the time and inclination) to come to Diablo and see what we could do.

What we could do was more than any of us expected, although it was a bit less than some of our wilder hopes. Actually, that the plant was delayed once more and on the last day of our blockade, is nothing short of magical. The causality is messy but what has happened is clear.

So, where to begin? It was the most comforting and comfortable demonstration i've been too. Not comfortable in a physical way, tension was high, the toilets smelly, the ground hard, the poison oak virulent, some of the police as vicious as ever. But comforting and comfortable because it was always together. You always knew where you stood with the rest of the protesters. It was a coherent community all the way through; a taste of what a sane society can be. It was a society where co-operation, harmony with nature, non-violence, and hard work were the principles we tried to live by. Our technology, our process, and our institutions were to serve these principles, instead of trying to invent principles to excuse what we do, which is what often seems to happen these days.

It was not a weekend affair. For weeks thousands of us lived together and acted together under difficult and complicated conditions. At some times the camp had over 2,000 people, often the number in jail was over 700, there were support centers, communication teams, media and legal centers, four blockade points and always affinity groups in the back country. The sea blockade was a whole action in itself, and the networking/outreach of the support collectives all over California and in Oregon and the East Coast was a whole other dimension.

How did we all manage to work together? Using consensus and feminist process, without hierarchy, under the principle that those who work, decide. And it worked beautifully. But before going into the "theory" of our structure and process it would probably help to try and give an idea of what the action felt like. Here's our story.

As you've probably heard from the Narcoleptics, our part of the blockade didn't begin in earnest until the Monday of the second week. Up until then we had been working on Nonviolence Trainers/Preparers Council helping prepare new affinity groups. The desire to go blockade split our affinity group, Love & Rage, and i know a lot of other organizing a.g.'s (like the Narcoleptics) experienced similar tensions.

Finally, Sunday morning, we went into the back country. We walked 12 miles through the night. Some people had a little trouble. Twisted Love has a bum knee. Kayla from SAVE a.g. is 40 and her work as a grant writer hasn't made her a hiker. Snail's jobs teaching Hebrew and making organic pizzas didn't prepare her very well either. But the 70 of us huffed and puffed and hid from helicopters and held hands walking slowly in the dark and by the grace of the stars, and our guides Natty, Sleeper, Mermaid, Blue and Earth, we made it.

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It wasn't all "mellow"

CALIFORNIA STYLE ... from pg.4

The battle over when to call the action raged on, with those pressing for a definite date often pitted against local liberals who wished to give the legal process one more chance, but affinity groups continued to proliferate and prepare themselves. Scouts in the San Luis Obispo area acquired an intimate knowledge of every jeep trail, fire road, hiking trail and cattle path in the woods surrounding the plant, but most tactical details were to wait until the Right Moment arrived.

* * *

When I arrived at the main camp for the action on a Sunday afternoon in early September, it was clear to me that two years of organization and community-building had paid off. Clusters of affinity groups were arranged like the spokes of a wheel with a central meeting space as its hub, most of the "spokes" corresponding to one of the half dozen or so possible approaches to the plant. Another "spoke" was for the support area, another was for new arrivals who had never undergone nonviolence training (the security/checking system was a bureaucratic nightmare), and yet another, inconspicuously marked "Trained" and adorned with a large black flag, was a cluster of anarchists from Santa Cruz and the San Francisco Bay area who had chosen to remain flexible at the beginning and to time their actions so as to best help sustain the blockade for as long as possible.

Patience and persistence were the order of the day. When it became clear that several groups were not ready to move on Monday and that many people had not yet arrived (the action had only be been called the previous Wednesday, after the Pacific Gas and Electric Company--PG&E--had passed their "final" legal hurdle--the approval of their security system for the plant!), the council of affinity group spokespeople agreed by consensus to postpone the beginning of the action until Tuesday. And when the blockade began, affinity groups were to demonstrate a higher level of spontaneity and ability to respond creatively to changing situations than has ever been seen in an action of this size in this country.

Instead of placing undue constraints on affinity groups and their movements, the outwardly peaceful tone and unhurriedness of the action seemed to encourage people to transcend their personal limits and undertake risks that might have seemed much too fearful in a different setting. On Tuesday afternoon just after the first wave of blockaders at the plant's main gate had been arrested (for the most part very peacefully), a second cluster appeared, seemingly from nowhere, equipped with their own wooden ladders to replace the ones that the cops had chain-sawed down to prevent any more people from climbing the fence. As the police raised their chain saws to keep the second wave at bay, the blockaders suddenly dropped their ladders, turned around and scrambled up a steep gully several yards up the road and onto company property before they were spotted. On Wednesday, the all-women's cluster held up 20 Greyhound buses full of workers for several hours, darting around them, between the wheels and everywhere possible to evade immediate arrest and sustain their blockade. In the back-country surrounding the plant--a lush paradise, however sandy, of huge, contorted live oaks, bay laurels, pines and manzanita--groups were daily devising new schemes for appearing on the plant grounds where we were least expected, stopping the buses further along the six mile access road and generally being as much of a nuisance and a security risk as possible.

For two weeks, new people kept arriving and adding to the ranks of blockaders. Many of them had never belonged to any antinuclear organization and most of them had never even seen any form of mass illegal action before. Some came for the excitement, a few to see Jackson Browne, some just to pick up on the vibes. Many of them had never heard of such things as consensus or feminist process; a few actively resisted learning about them. They were

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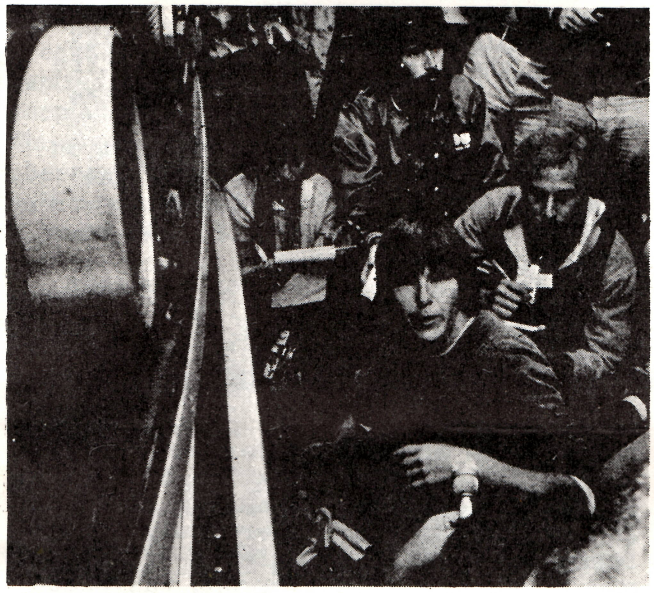
DEVIL ... from pg.5

The country around Diablo is so...Californian...is there a better word? A hundred hues of gold, a handful of greens, the blues of sky and ocean. More complex than you'd think; much more rugged than you could believe until you've struggled through it. We walked on ranch roads (often with tacit approval), and used ancient Chumash indian trails. Over half of us got terrible poison oak which haunts us still, 3 weeks later, but i don't know anyone who regrets it one bit.



Itara Katherine O'Connel halts PG&E's caravan of buses.

The sun is rising over the Irish Hills. We're hidden on the side of the main road in two little groups, crouching under the low chaparral everytime a helicopter stutters by. In a section of pipe on the other side of the canyon some of the Heliotropes from Palo Alto are listening to the play-by-play account of the blockade at the main gate on an AM radio. We want to make our move onto the road when the police break the blockade at the main gate, not before.

It holds. The fuckers. You'd think by now the police could just sweep them up but nooooooo. The police have proven slow learners at blockade busting it seems. The minutes crawl by. Raven, a rock'n'roll singer in Love & Rage, crawls back and forth with reports... "arrests are being made....police are pretty rough... the workers haven't gotten through yet..."

It seems too much like war. Hurry up and wait. The fear of discovery. The reality of violence. People who have to shit or piss learn to do it in intimate circumstances while hiding from the growing number of choppers and the trucks of riot police racing past us to the front gate to open up the road.

The AM station switches to a commercial. i'm huddled with Jackrabbit, the Poet, Snail and Juana. We debate what to do. What if the workers get through during the commercial break? This is what we get for relying on capitalist media. But we do have a back-up plan. Up the road a woman from the Zen Archers is hiding under a green packing cloth. i don't know her name. She's 20 or so, strong like she spent the summer hiking alone in the Canadian Rockies.

In our little clump of a.g.'s we start discussing going now. Mother Earth, an affinity group made up mainly of women from San Luis Obispo, thinks maybe we should. Some Zen Archers want to wait. Love & Rage is confused as usual. It's a hard situation to make a decision in. The Handbook didn't say there would be days like this. Most of the Heliotropes are in the drain pipe and difficult to communicate with. "What should we do?" asks C. of Mother Earth. She is quite relaxed, this is all a lot easier than being a camp resource person.

The woman from the Zen Archers ends the discussion.

"They're coming, they're coming!!!" she waves the cloth over her head. i feel like a soldier. "Thank the goddess this isn't a real war" i find myself thinking. Then i'm to the fence and over it.

Pouring from the canyon, a mother spider giving birth, the first cluster rushes the road. i run up to the woman Zen Archer. She and i have signs that say "STOP PLEASE, BLOCKADE AHEAD" She's having trouble with the barbed-wire fence.

"Hurry sister, we've got to stop the buses."

"I'm sorry brother, i've hurt my knee." It seemed absurdly polite but that's how we felt; calm and full of consideration.

The Pacific Ocean, a deep rich blue is just on the other side of the road. Just out of sight, a few miles down the road, the massive Diablo plant sits at the mouth of Diablo Canyon. The buses are a half-mile away on the other side of us coming at 40 miles an hour or more, snaking down the coast. It is a very still morning, bright and clear. i feel like the morning.

i help the Zen Archer woman through the fence and we slip and slide down onto the road from her lookout holding our signs high.

"Spirit of America" it says on the first big Greyhound bus. The driver sees us, hesitates sees the people ahead and slams on the brakes. The Greyhound swerves back and forth across the road, tires steaming, big body swaying, and so does the next one and the next and the next. As far as i can see down the road it's buses and cars. The workers stay on their buses as they have been told to and we sit and sing: "The earth, the fire, the water, the air; returns, returns, returns...The earth, the fire, the water, the air; returns, returns, returns, returns..."

cont. pg.9

CALIFORNIA STYLE...from pg. 6

nearly all white and from relatively affluent California homes, although there was much better representation from a wider range of age groups than I've seen at actions back East.

Almost everyone, though, seemed to get immediately caught up in the energy and spontaneity of the action. Every day, affinity groups met and worked out their plans for approaching the plant gates or the site itself, sought out other groups with similar plans, and coordinated their actions with everyone else through spokes meetings and the communications and guide collectives. Each morning, several groups marched to the gates and simply sat down to be arrested; others devised complex schemes to avoid being spotted until they had reached a particular strategic destination across the fences. But everyone's actions, from the simplest to the most elaborate, from the most outwardly passive to the most aggressive, always seemed to complement each other to form a coherent whole. The decision-making process was often slow and tedious beyond belief, but it never once broke down and was never to my knowledge superseded by decrees from the Office or anywhere else.

How effective was the blockade as a direct action? I think it's fair to say that it exceeded everyone's expectations, especially after the first weekend's pessimism over the unexpectedly low initial turnout. Over two full weeks, blockaders seriously interfered with PG&E's efforts to begin their nuclear fuelling operations at the plant The fuelling has since been suspended indefinitely and the NRC, in an unprecedented move, has revoked the company's permit for low-power testing of the reactor. I don't really know what the California liberals who vote for Jerry Brown are saying, but it's clear from back here that the blockade truly deserves the credit. On Monday afternoon, September 28, following the agreed upon climax of the blockade action, PG&E announced that the earthquake supports for the cooling system pipes in the completed reactor unit had been mounted backwards, due to an accidental substitution of the plans for the mirror-image second reactor. Such major construction flaws plague the nuclear industry on a routine basis, and are generally successfully swept under-the-rug until they can be quietly "corrected". Instead, the public outcry catalyzed by the blockade, and the apparently high level of identification with the action by many Californians, kept the mirror-reversed pipe supports on the front pages for several days. PG&E was compelled to carry out their investigation before the news media and the public, and more and more serious design flaws were "discovered", at the rate of one every week or two for the next couple of months. It literally came to the point at which the entire myth of public responsiveness of the regulatory agencies was at stake; by late November, the license revocation was their only means to relieve the pressure. Hopefully, antinuclear activists in California will not be so easily placated.

For the West Coast antinuclear movement itself, the results of the blockade appeared to be equally dramatic. It is difficult to reach any firm conclusions about the effects of such an action upon those who participated. How much is anyone's understanding of the nature of their relationships to the state, to property, to authority in general and to each other truly transformed by such an experience--especially one in which almost everyone was peacefully led away from their blockade targets by the local sheriff's deputies? The prevailing mood was that of a huge Celebration of Life, in the best tradition of the partially planned, partially wholly spontaneous celebrations of the 60's. But it was a celebration that immersed people--in most cases for their very first time--in a role of open defiance of the institutions of the state and big capital. The defiance was real, not merely symbolic as in more thoroughly staged civil disobedience actions, and people seemed to feel the difference. In the weeks following the action, several people, who had come to the blockade with widely divergent amounts of action experience, commented to me about how difficult it was to readjust to their normal routine, to even take the "outside" world seriously, after two weeks at Diablo. These are the changes in consciousness that really seem to matter.

Equally important was the opportunity for people to discover for them-

cont. next page

selves that anarchic forms of organization really work, even in situations where more conventional arrangements would tend to break down rapidly. The very lack of any form of central command or grand strategy was our best assurance that the police could never know what we were going to do next. This lesson, and the trust that developed among people from all over California and beyond who came to do the blockade, will more than anything else determine the future of the antinuclear movement on the West Coast.

Another important factor will be the kinds of organizations that evolve out of the blockade. At Diablo, there was much better representation from areas such as Santa Cruz and Sonoma County where there had been intensive long-term community-building efforts around the action than there was from the major urban hotbeds like San Francisco and Berkeley. Many of these groups left San Luis with a renewed determination to confront the nuclear power and weapons industry in their own home areas. Their success will depend largely upon the local Abalone groups' ability to sustain and strengthen affinity groups and to involve more people, without fostering an elite of "organizers" or "leaders". The ability of the Alliance to survive through three weeks of intense media attention with no one singled out as the "leader" or "spokesman" bodes well for the movement's future. Activists hoping to revive antinuclear activity in this half of the country would do well to take the example of Diablo to heart.

-Brian Tokar

DEVIL ... from pg.7

i make a sign: "I'M A CONSTRUCTION WORKER AGAINST NUKES! CONVERT DIABLO." It goes over moderately well. Shoshone writes, "I'M A TEACHER. STOP DIABLO FOR THE SAKE OF THE CHILDREN." The workers in the first bus lean forward to read it and several nod. One of them takes a polaroid of us. Raven and L. climb up on the front bumper to look at it.

Two police cars come up behind us and so does a PG&E truck. They get out and scratch their heads. An empty school bus comes from the same direction to be used in our arrest. The Narcoleptics, SAVE from Santa Cruz and Solarity from Oregon come out of their hideouts a little further up the road and block it. We cheer. The police are now surrounded. They turn in little circles as they talk about it. They are holding their hats in their hands and as they talk, they are also turning their hats in little circles, working them like worry beads.

Twenty-eight minutes pass. How much time is that, really? How much money for PG&E? What do the workers think sitting on their buses halfway between the main gate and Diablo, now one and a half hours late to work? (Later, after the bust when they rolled through on to their jobs, we got more peace signs flipped at us than fingers. But mostly they just stared.)

Oh, the bust. It could have been worse. An army truck pulled up to our line, sirens screaming. A squad of San Luis Sheriffs in riot gear leapt out on the run and poled into us without slowing...a few people get pretty juked around. Randi Heliotrope is clubbed in the face and kicked in the groin for no reason. The Zen Archer woman goes limp and gets a badly twisted wrist for her principles. It could have been worse. The cops were pretty pissed.

But we talked to them; shouted when we had to.

"Officer Bowker, you're hurting him."

"Officer Bowls, she's not resisting, why so violent?...We're non-violent."

"We aren't your enemies. We do this for you and your children too."

"Officer Bowker, we'll remember you!"

They throw us on the truck, they order us off the truck. The workers pass. The California Highway Patrol shows up. Some of them are wearing anti-nuke buttons under their jackets. We ask them what they think of the fact that a lot of the SLO sheriffs aren't wearing badges or n name tags. Several look embarassed.

The highway patrol wants to let us go. The Sheriffs are against it. They argue. A PG&E official gives us an order to disperse. We try. The sheriffs won't let us. Legally, we are in the clear since the police are so confused they have completely blown the bust. But force is nine tenths of the law, as is soon to be made clear.

cont. pg.28

we encircle the pentagon

Joining 47 Vermont women with about 3000 others, that is exactly what we did. Spinsters all, we wove a braid of silk and yarn, old photographs, bits of menstrual sponge, cloth and ribbons of every color, to entirely circle the Pentagon. Symbolic of strangling the deadly corpus of pornographic and violent thought that resides there, we drew upon the magic of the 5-sided shape. The idea of the pentacle, originally observed in the natural and used by witches and other pagans, has been perverted by a hierarchical sensibility into this insidious monolithic war-machine.

Most of us are already aware of the clarity and cohesion of analysis brought to anarchist ideology by a feminist and ecological perspective. So how does an action by all women and children to protest the nuclear mentality as epitomized by the U.S. police state manifest itself? How is the essence of the ecological nexus holding together the many issues facing anarchists, brought to life? With color. Music. Sheer creativity.

In four symbolic stages represented by huge Bread and Puppet puppets, we expressed Mourning, Anger, Empowerment and Defiance. We spun strange webs of love and rage, cooperation and resistance, creation and destruction, with a "common thread" of non-violent direct action.

Sound utopian? Close...but wait, I am also quite critical of the action, probably because I have stronger expectations of myself and other women as a revolutionary force.

One problem I saw was the tendency to turn "non-violence" into "passive"-ism. Much of the march on the first day from the Coliseum to the Aerospace Museum was very low-energy, and the night-time vigil at Ronnie's house was virtually non-existent. The best moments I had that day were spent with Burlington women as we discussed how to unroll a huge prophylactic over the Washington monument. A glimpse of spontaneity and life surfaced for a brief while, at least.

The next day, women waving peace-signs were offering the war-mongering generals at the Pentagon love and nurturance. I viewed them as less endearing and hurled some less-than-affectionate words and pieces of rotten sandwich at them. Luckily this mood caught on a bit, and if one listened carefully, one could hear under the sounds of singing and chanting, the hissing of air from many "official" U.S. tires in the parking lot.

I was hoping that there would be more spontaneous risk-taking of this sort, as well as clearly planned autonomous actions by affinity groups. I feel that the lack of strong action was partially due to the internal policing of the peacekeepers, and a severely self-limiting (read "crippling") set of action guidelines that asked us to agree "not even to run." My friend Jocelyn and I brought some snow-peas from our local co-op to show folks who was really "keeping the peas." Disappointingly, most of the "official" peacekeepers weren't amused, although a few cracked smiles in a glimmer of the absurdity of their situtaion. Some even "let down their guard," so to speak, and talked to us as friends/sisters.

One other thing that I found particularly oppressing was the strong Marxist presence at this action. Everywhere I turned I was being accosted by some sectarian-or-another urging me to join the vanguard and read some leaflet-or-another on what their peculiar (& I do mean peculiar) correct-line was. Talk about avid recruiters!

At the Coliseum on the first day was a huge red banner proclaiming that "women's liberation" was attainable only "through socialist revolution" and a

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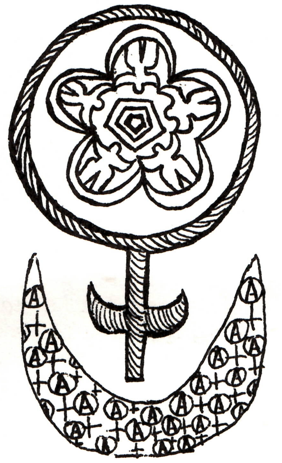

working-class struggle. I was inspired to paint a duplicate black & green sign on cardboard saying "human freedom through anarchist revolution" with accompanying notes asking for 100% unemployment and the fall of the proletarian dictatorship. Other notes read:"What about the lumpen, anyway?" and our motto of course, "The duty to produce destroys the passion to create."

Passion. That's what I missed. It wasn't lacking; it was just running under the surface, still too afraid and frustrated to emerge without the support of numbers. I heard rumor that the women who threw their own blood on the "department of defense" sign at the Pentagon are now spending time in solitary at Alderson prison. The clampdown occurs quickly with little provocation these days. Some kind of tension is growing. Kicking over the wall will happen soon, too.

Margaret Atwood says this of the power of women in their connection to nature in "Song of the Worms":

> We know what a boot looks like
> when seen from underneath,
> we know the philosophy of boots...
>
> Soon we will invade like weeds,
> everywhere but slowly;
> the captive plants will rebel
> with us, fences will topple,
> brick walls ripple and fall,
>
> there will be no more boots.
> Meanwhile we eat dirt
> and sleep; we are waiting
> under your feet.
> When we say Attack
> you will hear nothing
> at first.

-Laurie Larson

ECO-FEMINISM:
THE RADICAL CONNECTION

We've recently seen the emergence of a conscious "women and ecology" movement. Organizations such as DONT (Dykes Opposed to Nuclear Technology) and The Women and Life on Earth Project (which sponsored the recent Women's Pentagon Action) are among the most vital and progressive forces working for social change. This development is far from accidental. At root, both feminism and radical ecology question the most-fundamental dualisms which have shaped the modern world: the division of the domestic from the "productive," of work from play, intuition from intellect, mind from body, and nature from society.

The year 1981, in which we can find Ronald Reagan, neutron bombs, soaring cancer rates, urban blight, and economic instability, is following the logic of a society which sees itself at odds with the natural world, viewing the planet's biosphere as a mining ground of natural resources to be bought and sold on the open market, rather than as a complex ecosystem of which human beings are an integral part. This is not a simple question of "us" versus the trees and rivers, for as much as we are social beings, we are biological as well--eating, sleeping, touching, and sunning. The betrayal of the natural world is the betrayal of the natural within us as well, the denial of our own bodies (indeed, the essence of our schizophrenia). The logic which sees nature as mere "natural resources" extends, and people become "human resources." How else could the viability of something as lethal as nuclear technology be weighed in terms of its "cost/benefit analysis" rather than public health and safety?

This false division between the natural and social within us has been orchestrated through the institution of the family and its separation from the economic and political world. And who is more closely identified with the family than woman as wife and mother? She is the natural within the social world, tending to cooking, cleaning, child-rearing, and loving. Within our mechanized society, the assignment of a natural identity to woman has meant her limitation and oppression. But in the wake of widespread environmental breakdown, this association is not only the key to her oppression, but also to her liberation, and the liberation of society as a whole.

Women have protected the last vestigial remains of an integrated, ecological world view. But because her influence as "woman" is limited to the household, her ability to act as a humanizing force has been largely undermined. Ecological concerns broaden the metaphor of woman as housekeeper. It is women who pick up the pieces of war, big business, destructive technologies, and shattered lives. The feminine capacity for nurturance and containment has become her imprisonment. The household in which she is circumscribed is a Pandora's Box full of distorted sensibilities. Woman will rise to her essence, and to her historical moment, when she refuses to be the maid and seeks to undermine the division of society and the family, as well as the other false dualisms which shape our world, so that all of society will operate in interdependence and harmony, as the complex series of ecosystems it truly is.

The experience of motherhood has provided a critical edge to women which allows them a certain distance from the social path-

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socialism comes to vermont ?

At a strategy meeting last May of almost 100 Burlington leftists and social activists, one of the mayor's appointees to city office pleaded for moderation, saying: "Now is not the time to storm the Winter Palace."

The newly-elected mayor stood, placed his hand on his appointtee's shoulder, surveyed the city council chambers in which they were all assembled and said, "Why should we? We're already here!

Since January of this year two important processes have been occuring in Burlington. First, there has been an emergence of influential neighborhood organizations, and second the Left, often in conjunction with the neighborhood groups, has gained increasing acceptance, culminating in the March election of a socialist mayor and a Citizen's Party alderperson.

The progressive potential of the neighborhood organizations became clear when, on April 16, the first Burlington Conference on Neighborhoods was held. Armed with a carefully prepared statement, a Burlington anarchist affinity group (Freedom and Unity) pushed for the adoption by the conference of neighborhood control of the municipal utility, the promotion of decentralized renewable energy sources, major changes in the city's development strategy favoring the neighborhoods rather than the businesses, and a city charter revision "so that the Board of aldermen (sic) is officially composed of mandated recallable representatives of Neighborhood Assemblies." The energy proposals were adopted almost intact by the entire conference. The conference's development proposals were similar to Freedom and Unity's. The charter revision, which was discussed and supported by a large number of the participants including the mayor, was held up in a committee by some local politicians and a real estate agent.

The conference also passed resolutions calling for rent control, the building of a bike path instead of a new highway, further development of community gardens, decentralization of health care, and making the city "ultimately responsible for meeting the basic needs of all its citizens." In his keynote address, Mayor Sanders went one step further, calling for "the public control of private capital."

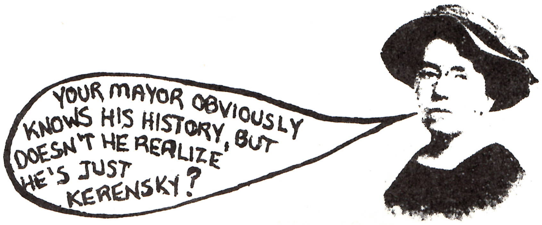
Supported by the neighborhood organizations many old-time leftists, low-income advocacy groups, and the policeman's union, Bernie Sanders, an avowed socialist, won a stunning though numerically slim victory over five-term Democratic mayor Gordon Paquette.

Sander's efforts to create more citizen involvement in city government coupled with a long-developing disgust with "business-as-usual" politics has created a new sense of legitimacy for radical political alternatives. There exists in Burlington a sense that people can begin to have a voice in issues concerning the quality of their community.

However liberal and lacking in revolutionary content these occurrences may appear, they represent the possible beginnings of a genuine libertarian municipalist movement in the city of Burlington. Moreover, they reflect a long-standing Vermont libertarian tradition pitting the ideal of community and individual self-determination against centralized control. It is a tradition that has made Vermont a refuge for eccentrics, free-thinkers and radicals.

Throughout Vermont's history two major political currents can be detected: the first being face-to-face town meeting style democracy, and the second being corporate control and colonization by both local and out-of-state

BURLINGTON CITY HALL


YOUR MAYOR OBVIOUSLY KNOWS HIS HISTORY, BUT DOESN'T HE REALIZE HE'S JUST KERENSKY?

real estate speculators and developers. These opposing currents constitute what Murray Bookchin calls "the American Crisis" which he describes as "... the fundamental tensions between two American dreams: the first, rooted in a more or less preindustrial premarket body of social relations, technics and values; the second rooted in a highly monopolistic, corporate body of social relations, technics, and values (Comment,vol.1, no, 4). The failure to see these two currents as mutually antagonistic, coupled with a clinging to the idea of private property, has resulted in the confusion leading many Vermonters to see Reagan's "decentralist" rhetoric as a positive alternative to a growing Federal bureaucracy. At the same time it was not out of character for many of the same Vermonters to vote for a socialist mayor in Burlington, the state's largest city.

In the middle of an apparent right wing reaction throughout the country, Burlington and Vermont may prove to be a refuge for genuinely decentralist, egalitarian, and libertarian principles. The type of activity possible in Burlington is impossible on a national level at this time. The extent to which any revolutionary activity can succeed in 1981 is probably the extent to which it can affect revolutionary consciousness in the local community.

As a means of developing public revolutionary consciousness, representative democracy has its limits. In Burlington, the contradiction between representation and democracy began to emerge even before its socialist mayor took office. As Rousseau said: "...the moment a people allows itself to be represented, it is no longer free: it no longer exists" (The Social Contract. Everyman Edition, 1959. p.96).

There exists in this city of 40,000 a scale which gives people a percieved sense of empowerment. It becomes quite easy, in a situation like this to believe that through electoral politics a person can actually affect her or his life. Democracy, on this level becomes confused with the true democracy of a face to face, libertarian, communistic community. The mayor's promises of citizen and neighborhood involvement in an "open administration" becomes quickly translated into token representation on mayor's "advisory councils." Bernie Sanders, through his independent, unilateral actions continues to alienate many of the neighbor activists and members of the radical community who elected him. The mayoral bubble, based on populist rhetoric and his selling of himself to the Burlington public, seems ready to burst. Cute gimmicks such as the cartoon characterization of Bernie Sanders by Gary Trudeau and the commoditization of a movement with "People's Republic of Burlington" T-shirts ($1.00 extra with the mayor's signature) have only temporarily strengthened this bubble.

Neighborhood organizations, lacking real power and substituting numbers and lowest common denominator politics for substance, easily dissolve into trite discussions of "WALK" lights, traffic and crime control. It is becoming increasingly clear to many people the obvious truth that the real power lies not in the hands of the people who ostensibly represent the voters, but in the hands of those who control the capital. To Bernie Sanders' credit, he has gone out of his way to publicly point this out.

As Burlington anarchists, we hope to restore substance to political discussions and neighborhood activities. We believe that the bulk of our activities should be focused on the municipal level. This is not to deny, however, the national and international context of issues. Nor does it come from a naive belief in a "utopia in one city." Real neighborhood power must replace neighborhood organizations' advisory role. The concept of the abolition of property must supplant the notion of the public control of capital. Without a continuing dynamic discussion of utopian possibilities, the most well-intentioned activities can easily sink into a confused liberalism, at best, or at worst, an acquiescence to truly reactionary elements.

-A. Korn

LOISAIDA:

COMMUNITY SELF-RELIANCE IN NEW YORK CITY

Beyond the garbage-strewn lots and abandoned buildings of Loisaida, the mostly Puerto Rican section of the Lower East Side that extends from 14th Street south to Houston Street and from Avenue A eastward to the river (a 30-block area), six vacant lots are now producing a bounty of fresh, organically grown tomatoes, lettuce, squash, corn and beans. On an 11th Street rooftop a windmill and a bank of solar collectors testify to a commitment to finding a new way. Over 30 buildings, gutted by arsonists and abandoned by landlords, are undergoing tenant-directed renovations. An abandoned oil-company garage on Eighth Street has become a recycling center. In a loft on Avenue B, portable geodesic domes, to be used as greenhouses on rooftops and vacant lots, are being constructed. What was once a garbage-filled lot on Ninth Street and Avenue C is now a cultural plaza for neighborhood residents. A permanent dome greenhouse which will house a 24,000-gallon pond for raising fish to edible size in an intensive closed-system aquaculture project, is under construction. Fish will also be raised in basements on 11th Street. A youth-run community center on Houston Street near the Bowery boasts the first passive-solar space heating device to be used in New York. Rooftop vegetable gardens are flourishing at various locations around the neighborhood.

Alternative technology has come to Loisaida. The projects are the result of the work of a loose coalition of grassroots organizations: the East 11th Street Movement, the Charas Group, and CUANDO (Cultural Understanding and Neighborhood Development Organization).

The East 11th Street Movement is composed of tenant cooperatives on East 11th Street between Avenues A and B. The first group in New York to undertake urban homesteading on a "Sweat Equity" basis, the East 11th Street Movement renovated 519, their first building, in 1973 to utilize solar energy and wind power to increase the energy efficiency of the building. Now at work on eight additional buildings on the block plus numerous open-space projects, the diverse membership of the East 11th Street Movement includes young and old, blacks and Puerto Ricans.

Charas is a "street corporation," a group of community activists who have been working on education and neighborhood redevelopment since Chino, Angelo Gonzales and other founders of Charas met Buckminster Fuller in the summer of 1969. He introduced them to geodesic domes and they proceded to build more than 100 all around the city with school kids, street gangs, garden clubs, and anyone else with the desire. The domes have served as greenhouses, music studios, and temporary shelters, rented or loaned to a neighborhood or environmental group. Vacant lots throughout Loisaida have blossomed into playgrounds and vest-pocket parks that provide open-air galleries for local artists. Charas also helped to initiate the rebirth of 519 East 11th Street. The members of Charas--neighborhood people, former gang leaders, poets, musicians--are showing the young men and women of the neighborhood that there are alternatives to the street.

CUANDO means "when" in Spanish. Also the acronym of the Cultural Understanding and Neighborhood Development Organization. CUANDO is a "youth-run youth organization," which offers educational, recreational, and cultural programs at its center at 9 Second Avenue. Members range in age from the early teens to the late twenties. CUANDO was founded in 1969 by students from the First Street School, a Libertarian school established by radical educator George Dennison and author and social critic Paul Goodman. After five years of squatting, CUANDO's continued existance is a powerful testament to the commitment and creativity of its members.

Grassroots control, ownership and decision-making are crucial to the success of the projects. Alternative technology has gained a foothold in this neighborhood because the people are involved. Other efforts to introduce alternative technology to the inner city-- for example, the Community Technology experiments in Washington, D.C.--failed because the direction came from the top. The Loisaida groups are not middle-class people bringing the blessings of alternative technology to the poor. They are people of a neighborhood demanding access to the techniques that will allow the reconstruction of their neighborhood. They recognize that alternative technology is a tool, not an end in itself. Angelo Gonzales of Charas says, "The solar energy is important to us, but it is the human energy that really counts." The spirit of these people, their vision of their future, their persistence in the face of apathy and decay, their sense of community and commitment to each other, are what really count. A self-reliant, loving, culturally intact community is alive, well and growing organically in Loisaida. The movement in Loisaida is creating an alternative life-style that can both sustain them and their culture and offer change to the larger society.

The groundwork for these projects was laid over the past five years. Technical assistance through the planning and design phases was provided by a number of individuals and groups, including Bucky Fuller, the Energy Task Force, the Green Guerillas and the Institute for Social Ecology at Goddard College. This collaboration between environmentalists and the low-income Puerto Rican community of Loisaida is unprecedented. The cooperation provides a strong argument against those who believe that environmental issues are irrelevant to inner city people.

Although outside assistance has been instrumental in making the projects a reality, the primary impetus rests with the Loisaida community. Chino Garcia,. coordinator of Charas says, "In the sixties, the Poverty Programs came into the neighborhood with millions of dollars. The government had all these programs that were going to help us out and save the Lower East Side. Those program programs were supposed to be controlled by the people, but they never really were. So, those millions of dollars were spent and nothing really changed, in fact, things got worse. Some people even got the idea that the government would provide for them. But some of us came to understand that we had to do for ourselves if we really wanted to control what happens in our neighborhood. That's what the environmental projects are all about. We do for ourselves. We use whatever resources we have available in the community. Our motto is 'Doing more with less'. And after we have gone as far as we can go, we look to the outside. But the outside must understand that the community will make the decisions about what goes on and that we will own and control whatever we build up."

Although only tiny fragments of what needs to be done to turn Loisaida around, experiments are valuable first steps. The projects are painfully underfinanced, understaffed and constantly frustrated by the bureaucratic entanglements inherent in almost any community work. But, given the commitment of the people in the neighborhood, the possibility exists for un milagro de Loisaida, a miracle of the Lower East Side. That miracle, the transformation and reconstruction of america's archetypical immigrant ghetto, has important implications for all of our decaying cities and the redefinition of an urban life-style for all our citizens.

As Chino says, "In 1964 I was eighteen years old. I was coming from the type of bag that I really didn't know what to live for. Angelo had just come out of prison. I was just back from Puerto Rico. Things were boring. The streets weren't happening for me any more. It was a very negative situation. A group of us started talking. Somebody brought up the idea of self-sufficiency. It sounded right. It sounded like something I wanted to do. It became our goal. It's ambitious, sure, but we're learning and we're growing and growth is what it's all about."

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in winter blues

snowflake hushfalls pattern over the blue the blue
the white white white of sky air land.
blue wool wraps the heart, bare face burns blue.
snowflakes pattern blue of leggings hidden by jeans.
the blue moods are like the helpless crashing of the waves,
caught and forced to pound the shore.
the sucking winds hear words of reproach, words of fear
and anxiety over and over.
in winter blues play under and under.

sitting in a blue chair counting failings.
staring at a bluebook's unconsummated fuck.
sleeping on a blue couch unfitfully.
sighing, stolen, all blue creations flying.
in winter blues play under and under.

shattered blue bottles the rock encrusted fog.
sputtered blue proceedings cool the flickering flame.
a slipped swallowed blue bayonet freeze
slashes back and temples in painful blue fright.
in winter blues play under and under.

sand crystal flumes embed the blue the blue
the grey grey grey totally grey of sky air land.
forced slicing blades and unforgettable images cut
clear focus. an unfiltered pattern of snowflakes
sold to sleet. the sacrificial pretense, the
sadistical players, the stealing oppressor's face.
in winter blues play under and under.

there is no sweet art, not a single sweetheart.
veiled in time, the february frigidity patterns the
pneumatic pitchforks. a skirted scarecrow smiles a
thousand miles to shooting lips, a single stone step
shows a bleeding heart, a red lambda paints
an empty hand.

we strike the page, we break the blue pencils.

as icy cocks crash from pedestals, there is no pardon.
and friends lurch forward tracing blue snowflake patterns,
each different, each the same.
still wearing blue, the prickly peers pull back,
pull wounds in, but fail to exhaust privacy.
their purpose is dying, and each perfect perversion
gives no comfort or compensation.
in winter blues play under and under.

we want to stand in the same place for a single
timeless sane second. we want this peace, but the
flood tide pushes us on spiralling paths into pyrogenesis.
flying sprites, flying spite, puckish petrels, fighting
dispersion, submission, simple satisfactions; fighting
all impenetrable snowflakes.

we are slippery spinsters. we are lunatics.
minding madness, cultivating queerness. spinning
webs and shedding skins of constriction.

we sift the cold blue sex pain's source. we,
daughters of Persephone, sisters of the shadows.
we will have our sweet spring revenge; our strong,
strange, subjective insurrection. we will act in
savage synthesis. no felo-de-se is too good, the
ocean cannot drown any more of the mystery.

we spit our speech and teach the seminal cement,
the alone stones, to think into, to listen/feel
our surreal beings. we will wash over the systems
with a new playing, over and over, over and over.
a scary spontaneity. our gay voices shall not be
silenced again. the strawberries will ooze an
unscorned smell.

let us balance all awake on the expanding moonbeams.
let us be purple satin valentines.

Anne Genovese

EUROPE: YOUTH REVOLT ...cont. from cover

the traditional labor movement and its "historic compromise" with capital are catalyzing the rise of a new order of resistance against the institutions and the very culture of modern-day capitalism.

The mounting economic crisis of the past several years has brought to the surface a profound resentment against the hopelessness, futility and brutishness of contemporary urban life. The alienation is surfacing among younger and younger age groups, as people are forced to confront the impossibility of realizing their own potential under the present system--that is, if there is to be any future at all. Their social milieu is increasingly dominated by the imported american culture of supermarkets and TV, and the violence and inhumanity it fosters. Traditional class politics are meaningless. Students, workers and street people inhabit the same fringes of bourgeois society. The most visible enemy is society itself.

In these days the beat is militant
Must be a clash--there's no alternative
In these days nations are militant
We have slavery under government
--The Clash, Kingston Advice

The Brixton riots of last April were the outcome of a mounting campaign of police intimidation against the vibrant West Indian street culture of one of the largest black communities in England. For several years, young blacks in Brixton have been the victims of indiscriminate searches under Britain's suspicious persons, or "sus", laws. The black and white communities of Brixton (The district is only 30% black, but blacks account for two thirds of the unemployed) have become increasingly united by their growing hatred for the police and their arbitrary tactics of harassment.

In early April, over 1000 people, mostly black, were stopped and searched by police within one week. The successful liberation of one wounded young man from the hands of the police by an angry crowd of locals led to a brief battle between street folks and police reinforcements. The next day, people awoke to find a veritable occupation force of police vans spaced 50 yards apart along their major streets, just waiting for something to happen. An undercover cop attempting to search a black taxi driver was the target of the first brick to be thrown. A crowd began to gather. A participant, writing in the British anarchist journal, Freedom (84b Whitechapel High St., London E1), described the scene:

> "The odd brick began to fly at the cops isolated in the crowd. A window was smashed Tension rose. Electric. Then plain-clothes cops appeared from the crowd and joined the uniformed lot. Battle lines were now clearly drawn and the first barrage of bricks flew in the direction of the cops. They threw a few back and charged. We at first retreated a little but realizing we were many, they were few, we stopped. Then, spontaneously, the whole afternoon's tension being released like a spring, we charged them.
>
> "A massive surge of adrenalin. War whoops. Class war whoops. 'Whoops! Class war!' A scramble for bricks. 'I must have a brick. Where are the bricks ?' A hail of bricks. The cops are confused as they realise they are no longer in control. Puppets without a role. They look at us, at one another and around themselves. Them. Run. Away. Down Mayall Road, leaving their vehicles in our hands. In the twinkling of a rioting eye the vehicles are smashed up and turned over. A light is instantly provided and poof! Up goes a cops' van. Wild cheers. Laughter. Dances of joy."

Having failed to depict Brixton as a race riot, British authorities have chosen to blame the ongoing street actions there and elsewhere in Britain as the work of "mad anarchists" and "outside agitators" with international connections. This is their way of both denying the depth of social alienation across their country and justifying a campaign of systematic repression against anarchists who have been active in racial unity movements in Brixton and elsewhere. It has also fired up the right wing forces of the neo-Nazi National Front, whose "skinheads" have escalated their own campaign of intimidation against blacks, asians, gays and leftists alike.

When they kick at your front door, how
you gonna come?
With your hands on your head, or on the
trigger of your gun?
--The Clash, Guns of Brixton

Throughout northern and central Europe, similar feelings have catalyzed an outpouring of street actions against the institutions and symbols of power. In Zurich, Switzerland, often described as the "center" of the Youth Revolt, a week of riots followed the closing last summer of a youth center in an abandoned factory building, which was frequented by anarchists and myriad street people. People, mostly in their early teens, stormed downtown streets and very discriminately trashed all the banks, supermarkets and fashionable boutiques. These actions have continued over the past year and have led to the recognition of Autonomous Youth Centers, which are effectively off limits to police and most other adults. At one point this past spring, the Swiss bankers were rumored to have offered a million dollars for youth "activities" if the rioting would cease. One response was the late-night taping of bricks to the windows of people's favorite target institutions--a warning that street actions could resume at the slightest provocation. A recent visitor to Zurich described the Youth Center as a vital and intensely political center for the local youth culture, with its own meeting rooms, libraries, workshops, printing press and even a glass-blowing shop for the creative use of the "raw materials" gathered from downtown streets.

Similar situations are found in several West German cities, often connected to the growing squatters' movement. Buildings are covered with slogans: "No future", "No power to nobody" (the title of a popular rock song that preceded the British New Wave by several years) and the ever present circled A for Anarchy. One weekend in March, the German State television reported incidents of pro-squatter violence in 18 cities, reflecting an outpouring of increasingly wider segments of the population. In Nuremburg, 160 people were rounded up and jailed for several days, charged only with breaking some windows; their proper, largely middle class parents staged an angry demonstration protesting the obvious violation of normal legal procedures.

BOBBY SANDS PUB
BULOW 89
HIER WOHNT DER SCHWARZE BLOCK
BULLEN UNERWÜNSCHT
ZT

In the Kreuzberg district of West Berlin, squatters control over 100 vacant houses amidst hundreds of old, abandoned tenements. The squatters' movement there has been the focus of a growing resentment by young and old alike against the machinations of Social Democratic politicians; offers of deals and compromises are treated with increasing scorn. Many banks and supermarkets were closed for much of the winter and spring, their shattered windows a continuing object of anger --middle-aged people were often seen completing the work of their younger counterparts.

"I saw people take up rocks who never would have had a stone in their hand in a million years," explained a Kreuzberg social worker in a recent New York Times interview (3/18/81). "You have a situation where the softer ones (sic) see their interests defended by the 'no future people' who are ready to take any kind of risk. There's a tremendous potential there, because everything is so poorly defined, for everyone to attach their grievance to the movement and feel linked together through their disillusionment."

One of the Kreuzberg squatters told the Times, "The police try to say there's just a small violent kernel, but that's just not true. We're all of the mind that fighting is a legitimate means when everything else fails, and everything else is failing. There's no boss, no string-puller behind us, but our ties are getting much wider. We're very close to the ecological people. We talk to people in Amsterdam and in Zurich."

However, the connections between the spontaneously brewing Youth Revolt and the organized left are still rather tenuous. There is a well-developed hatred of sectarian politics and the street people are keeping their distance from the movement "elders" of the Generation

cont. next page

of '68. They have "no organization, no explicit 'ideology', no theory--just an angry 'free-space mood," in the words of one observer. Yet there appears to be a definite visceral identification with the idea of Anarchy, as a rejection of both the established order and the worn cliches of "revolutionary leadership".

* * *

Why hasn't the European Youth Revolt begun to spread to the United States? We see many of the key social elements characterizing the European scene in the streets of our own cities: high youth unemployment, a lack of affordable housing (exacerbated by the gentrification of formerly ghettoized areas), a strong visceral antiauthoritarianism and a well-developed street-corner subculture of people cut loose from the promises of bourgeois society at an early age. But instead of lashing out against the State, the american street kids take out their hostilities against each other. The level of day-to-day violence appears much greater here, but it is domestic violence and petty crimes against one's own neighbors that have become the accepted ways of expressing a morbidly individualized alienation.

A variety of economic and political factors have been invoked to explain these differences. Some observers have argued that the economic crisis has just not evolved far enough in this country, that unemployment and inflation are just not yet as severe as in Europe. However, the process of economic degeneration has been quite similar, yet there is no real correlation between the present social situation in this country and the European setting of several years ago. Others have attributed much of the difference to the lack of an institutionalized left in the US, disregarding the established European left's consistent interference with the development of true social movements. In fact, much of the political coherence of the present European youth movement emerges through its dismissal of the established left as a mere counterpart of the State itself.

The most striking differences between the present situations in Europe and the US are more social and cultural than economic and political, in the traditional sense of the latter word. The ethic of competition, the cult of the individual and the disintegration of community are all factors that contribute to the distinctly apolitical character of most of american street culture. It is a culture in which basic human solidarity is sacrificed to the desire to become a property owner (of a fast old supercharged automobile) and a small businessperson (even if it is just small time drug-dealing). Life is cheap and always for sale. Social obstacles are internalized as personal inadequacies and impulses toward mutual aid are devoured by the urge to "get ahead", or simply to escape.

On the inner city streets of this country, anything goes for the sake of a fast buck, and the most ruthless are more often than not the most highly rewarded. Those who "fail" can always join the army to get away from it all and look forward, if they are male, to taking out their aggressions on those less "fortunate" --an increasingly popular option as the times get worse. Women have even fewer ways "out", as the very ethic of escapism precludes conscious efforts to confront social problems. The John Wayne frontier ethic still operates in the absence of any "frontiers", as the ideology of social mobility tells us that we can always make a better life for ourselves somewhere else.

This is not to say that there are no ambiguities in the European situation. The persistent level of street violence reminds many older Germans of the 1920's and the rise of Nazism. Other observers dismiss the entire punk-influenced squatter culture as macho, superficial and faddish. But there still remain very real and distinct differences in the underlying messages of their street culture as compared to ours.

There remain just a few outstanding exceptions to our grim picture of american inner city life. Several black and hispanic communities in our major cities have been struggling for 30 years or more to retain a sense of communal solidarity and escape some of the worst distortions of white TV culture--a difficult task given their enforced state of economic deprivation. Neighborhoods such as the Lower East Side of Manhattan (see p.14) and the Haight Street section of San Francisco are seeing blacks and white lumpens uniting against the forces of gentrification and fighting to try to gain a measure of control over their own communities. European punk culture is starting to make serious inroads here and while its american versions are often thoroughly contaminated by a brutish and misogynist nihilism, its sweeping critique of the dehumanized nature of modern techno-culture could

have a profound impact here. The liberatory influence of the 1960's counterculture is still significant in some localities, providing viable outlets for those individuals inclined to opt out of mainstream society; stripped of the trappings of 1970's "new age" consumerism and therapy culture, this could again blossom into a compelling social movement.

Such speculations carry a profound urgency for European activists. All of the dramatic steps Europeans are taking toward the liberation of their own communities occur against a back drop of NATO military bases, the american nuclear arsenal and the economic supremacy of US-based transnational conglomerates. The danger of a nuclear war between the superpowers looms even larger in the European popular consciousness than it does here, as a "limited" nuclear war between the US and the Soviet Union would likely mean the annihilation of their entire continent. Transnational corporate control over key elements of the European economies leaves even less room for the creation of sustainable social alternatives than is available here. The extent of american control over their own lives creates a serious dilemma for European activists, for a process of revolutionary transformation now has to begin in earnest here in the US before any of their own movements can realize their full liberatory potential.

-Brian Tokar

* * UPDATE * *

The battle for control of the streets of West Berlin came to a head in late September, when a newly-elected right wing Burgermeister pledged to clear the city of squatters. Thousands of people came from as far as Amsterdam and Zurich in response to the call, "Tu-wat" (Do Something), in support of the squatters. It was the week following the demonstration of 80,000 people against Alexander Haig's appearance in Berlin. Police charged the squatted houses with clubs, tear gas, water cannons and battering rams, forcing people out onto the streets; supporters of the squatters responded by lashing out at local banks, supermarkets and boutiques, not only in Berlin, but also Frankfurt and six other West German cities. After a demonstration of 70,000 people the following Sunday, officials offered to let the remaining squatters keep what they still had, plus an additional 100 flats; people are boycotting all negotiations until the massive police presence is cleared from the streets, as the squatters fear more house-clearings at any time.

Meanwhile, the mainstream disarmament movement is flowering all across Europe. Millions have marched in the major cities of England, Germany, the Netherlands, Denmark and other countries within the past few months. Anarchists have begun to criticize this movement for its strategy of appealing to the ruling elites of Europe to disarm rather than proposing the revolutionary alternatives that are essential to end the international war economy and increasingly militarized culture. On the other hand, given the current success of the "Reaganite" forces in the US in stirring up "patriotic" jingoism and support for the greatest arms buildup in history, the European movement often appears to be our only protection from simple world annihilation. Continuing developments in the European peace movement should offer important lessons for activists in this country in the months to come.

* * *

Special thanks to Murray Bookchin for sharing his observations from his European speaking tour last spring.

ART AND POLITICS

We must surrender our minds to universal truth, but our imagination is free to dream; is as free as the dream; is the dream.
Herbert Read

Art is a way people have interacted through time with nature. The word Art comes from the Latin ars meaning arm or skill akin to the Greek arariskein, to fit. Nature is metabolized by humanity into art, into an object or collection of objects (words, sounds, pictures, etc.) that acquire a place within cultures and across history. This article will explore some ethical and aesthetic ideas about art, and I hope raise some discussion.

Marxist aesthetics was an attempt (born mainly in the Frankfurt School) to synthesize art and politics and create a coherent political perspective about art. Theodore Adorno's view was that one must transcend art in order to understand it. He felt that philosophy and especially critical knowledge was necessary.

Herbert Marcuse's 1978 book, The Aesthetic Dimension, critiqued Marxist aesthetics and championed the truths in art as being autonomous and beyond or outside the political sphere. "The truth of art lies in its power to break the monopoly of established reality to define what is real. Art is committed to the emancipation of sensibility, imagination and reason in all spheres of subjectivity and objectivity." Lucien Goldmann, another critic, insisted upon the concreteness immanent in a work of art that makes it a totality in its own right. Once created, a work is "taken out" of the constant process of reality and assumes a significance and truth of its own.

John Berger, in his latest book About Looking, sides with neither Adorno nor Marcuse and posits a view of art being semi-autonomous. Art is important insofar as it is continually timely, not just timeless. As David Craven writes in his review in Telos, "Berger contends that the revolutionary meaning of a work does not reside in any intrinsic subject or form, but in the critical consummation of a 'meaning continually awaiting discovery and release.'"

Art is born in inwardness, in a withdrawal from exchange relationships to the world of passion and conscience. As Cezanne wrote, "we must render the image of everything we see, forgetting everything that existed before us." The artist, dissociated from material conditions to some degree, finds in that separation a refuge and vantage point from which to denounce the reality established through domination. The artist's "privilege" (as Marx would have it) to create art negates neither the truth nor the aesthetics of the work. Writers such as Poe and Baudelaire, Proust and Mallarme, consciously set themselves at a distance from praxis. Although aware of the social crisis, their celebration of the asocial or anomic was possibly a secret rebellion of the bourgeois against their own class. The tabooed zones of nature and society were opened in their refusal of the law and order of repression.

The world formed by art is a reality that is suppressed in the given reality. It is another Reality Principle, a realm of estrangement where art fulfills the desire to communicate truths not possible in another language. The artist is uncompromising and against an economics that will determine what art is and what it can and cannot say. As Julian Beck writes in Life of the Theatre, "art must either oppose the state or destroy its own life force." Artists may identify with a movement but often remain outsiders no matter how much they abandon aesthetic form in favor of direct expression and communication.

The artist as archrebel needs to point out the mystification inherent in everyday reality where necessity is turned into choice and alienation into self-realization. The artist saves the private sphere as possibly the only space remaining "free" in our hard society. Now especially, as our experience seems to be intensified to the breaking point; the unspeakable spoken, the invisible becoming visible, the unbearable about to explode:

I am punished when I do not work on this poem
or when I try to invent something
I am one of the slaves
You are employees
that is why I hate your work. -Leonard Cohen

Marcuse has written "in one-dimensional society, art goes underground." Much art seems to be ghettoized, created by very few and appreciated by fewer. Many current writers and critics are cynical about the revolutionary potential of art. Robert Hughes, art critic of Time magazine and narrator of the PBS series, "The Shock of the New" has written: "most art aspires to the condition of Muzak. It provides the background hum for power. If the Third Reich has lasted until now, the young bloods of the Inner Party would...be queuing up to have their portraits silkscreeened by Andy Warhol." Cocteau said that the revolutionary artist is first ignored then scorned and when these things do not work they try to suppress you by loading you down with honors. Julian Beck says that "Malraux and Frost sold their birthrights by serving the state with the excuse of trying to popularize national art."

Many questions remain unanswered. Is there an ecological aesthetic? What new dimensions in the tension between art and politics are revealed by women's art? It is clear that music of bands like the Clash have been an influence uponyouth of England in the recent demonstrations. Norman O. Brown writes in Love's Body that it is the "damned, disreputable, despised and rejected" who make the revolution and that "the real fight is not political, we must move from politics to life."

-Anne Genovese

IF THE OCTOBER REVOLUTION
HAD BEEN IN MAY
IF I WERE NOT IMPOTENT IN THE FACE
OF YOUR ASSASSINATION
IF MY PEN WERE A VICTOR'S WEAPON
IF MY FEAR EXPLODED IN THE SQUARES
A COURAGE BORN OF THE ANGER
STRANGLED IN MY THROAT
IF HAVING KNOWN YOU WOULD BECOME
OUR STRENGTH
IF THE FLOWERS WE GAVE TO YOUR
COURAGEOUS LIFE IN OUR DEATH
WOULD AT LEAST BECOME WREATHS
IN THE STRUGGLE OF ALL US WOMEN
IF...IT WERE NOT WORDS TRYING TO
AFFIRM LIFE BUT LIFE ITSELF
WITHOUT ADDING MORE.

Graffiti in Rome after Giorgiana
Masi, 17, died in a protest march
12 March 1977

Sources

Herbert Read - Poetry and Anarchism
Herbert Marcuse - The Aesthetic Dimension
David Craven in Telos, Winter 1980-81
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Norman O. Brown - Love's Body and Commentary article, March 1967

The frightful prison of love will finally be forced open when all those who know how to talk of love, how to want it and live it, will join together and merge lovingly, bursting with the laughter and the pleasure of being both man and woman, and yet neither; of being both young and old, and yet neither, and yet all else as well. That prison will give way when, branding every place and every text with their subversive love, they cause the downfall, the first death rattle of the haters, the vampires, the zombies, atrocious puppets of our history. Only then will we know what pleasure, knowledge, activity, language, really mean. Are you ready to join us? You, and all the others contained within you, my all-loving ones, I love you.

Annie LeClerc

Someday the past will die,
the last scar heal,
the last rubbish crumble to good dirt,
the last radioactive waste decay
to silence
and no more in the crevices of the earth
will poisons roll.

Sweet earth, I lie in your lap,
I borrow your strength,
I win you every day.

Someday water will run clear,
salmon will thunder upstream,
whales will spout just offshore,
and no more in the depths of the sea
will the dark bombs roll.

Sweet earth, I lie in your lap . . .

- Marge Piercy

NO CLASS !

Through no fault of the members of the *Open Road* collective, the Spring/Summer 1981 issue (#12) misrepresented our views on the revolutionary potential of the working class. The article on the founding of the New England Anarchist Conference quoted a NEAC "organizer", saying:

> "It is our belief that the labor movement has long exhausted its potential as a revolutionary force, that the traditional working class, *as a class* , has so assimilated itself to the regimes of consumer society that it has become an actively counter-revolutionary force."

It is obvious to us, as it should be to most readers of *Open Road*, that no revolution can hope to succeed without broad-based popular support, including the bulk of the working population. However, for a revolutionary movement to typecast people into their roles as workers, as is often the practice, is to confine rather than to catalyze and emancipate those human impulses that motivate revolutionary activity. The modern workplace, whether factory or office, has clearly shown itself to be among the most advanced instruments of social domination and of the total rationalization of human behavior created by hierarchical society. The inhuman notion of the factory as a constructive vehicle for disciplining labor in a revolutionary direction has been exposed in its fullest horror with the advent of assembly line robot technology and sophisticated performance-monitoring devices.

Revolutionary consciousness, in the present age, begins when people *refuse* to view themselves primarily as workers and search elsewhere in their lives for ways to express both their frustrations and their own innate creativity. It is those workers who limit their world-view to the one imposed upon them by their job and the products they consume who find themselves hopelessly trapped within the value nexus of market society.

Marx set many generations of radicals on the wrong track when he defined revolutionary consciousness in terms of one's economic relation to the means of production. This wholly economistic approach played itself out through the history of the classical workers' movement, roughly from 1848 to 1939, with mixed results, until the rise of bureaucracy, state capitalism and transnational finance made "ownership" of the means of production an increasingly ambiguous notion. Major economic and even social decisions came to be made by increasingly replaceable bureaucrats seeking to sustain increasingly faceless institut institutions. As the German social theorist and founder of the Frankfurt School, Friedrich Pollock observed, "The profit motive is superseded by the power motive."

Rather than viewing history exclusively in terms of "class struggle" and the development of economic exploitation, our policy statement (see *Black and Green* #1) posits a critique of all forms of hierarchy and a struggle against domination in every sphere of life--social and personal as well as economic. History has shown us that hierarchical social structures and non-economic forms of domination both precede class formations and have played a more integral and deeper role in the dialectic of human development. The so-called "class consciousness" that motivates our analysis of the inner workings of contemporary state societies is rather a consciousness of the hierarchical relations of power, *including* economic oppression, that prevent us from realizing our full potential as human beings. While we often focus upon wealthy and powerful individuals as targets of our anger and our actions, it is the virtually self-perpetuating institutions of power and the stifling culture of domination that are the most fundamental enemies.

None of this is to deny that there is a dialectic to history or that economics, in the form of an all-powerful market, has increasingly penetrated every aspect of our lives. Our very lives are in fact becoming defined by quantitative exchange relationships. The various liberal and totalitarian forms of state capitalism that now wield power over nearly all the world's population are precisely the working out of the logic of capitalism and the broader dialectic of human domination which produced it. Nor can there be any doubt that the ultimate trajectory of this development is toward unparalleled global destruction, whether in the form of nuclear war, ecological catastrophe or an Orwellian form of global totalitarianism. Marx's dangerous alignment with scientific "progress" and the technological

CLASS...

plundering of the natural world is only beginning to reveal its tragic consequences. It has become impossible to devise a strategy for human liberation that remains congruent with the dialectic of domination; rather we must seek to exorcise the oppressive and destructive logic of historical "progress". A narrow emphasis on labor and production have prevented Marxists and syndicalists alike from developing a strategy for human liberation that breaks with the oppressive development of capitalism--precisely because they have adopted the oppressor's own categories. Marxism and syndicalism have become aberrent forms of capitalism itself, replete with new legitimations for rapid industrialization and all its associated ills.

It is for these reasons that we have chosen to concentrate upon the community rather than the workplace as an arena for consciousness raising and political activity. We do not intend to glorify the traditional approaches to community organizing, with all their underlying conservatism, any more than we glorify the labor movement. Rather, we embrace the community as possibly the only arena in which our natural impulses toward cooperation and mutual aid continue to appear despite the dehumanizing influences of the culture of rationalized production and consumption. In the community we can begin to evolve a new revolutionary culture in which people come to consciousness as people in the fullest sense, reflecting upon all aspects of their lives. Beginning in a community setting we can evolve new forms of organization leading not only to the "collective ownership of the means of production", but to the end of ownership itself. We shall transform ourselves at the level of face-to-face relationships in our cities and towns; here we take our stand as the heat begins to build; here begins the destruction of hierarchical society.

—BLACK & GREEN COLLECTIVE

Eco-feminism...cont. from page 11

ologies which can so easily engulf the lives of men. "Concern for the children" has caused many women to fight for nuclear disarmament, staff draft resistance centers, and work on peace and disarmament campaigns. Susan B. Anthony, Sarah and Angelina Grimke, Lucretia Mott, and Alice Paul were all ahead of their times in their pacifist and feminist ideals. Lois Gibbs, president of the Love Canal Home Owner's Association, is a striking example of a woman lifted out of her home and family and into a world of ceaseless political work by her concern for her own children and for children everywhere. Women were the first and most-active organizers in the American and European anti-nuclear movements. The Feminist Anti-Nuclear Task Force appeals to a distinctly maternal sensibility when they write, "We who bear ultimate responsibility for the health and well-being of our children, ourselves, and our families, must halt the lethal threat of radiation and nuclear destruction... before it becomes the ultimate violent act."

Women's lives are informed by the ramifications of motherhood, while men's lives are shaped by economic struggle in an inhospitable world. Increased crossover in sex roles does not entirely mitigate the profundity of the distinction between these two world views; they reflect basic social strucures, though they are transcended by individual women and men to some degree.

While men shuffle paper or assemble mechanical parts in a rational sphere that is decidedly irrational--a sphere which affects their lives, relationships, and outlook--women, through the family, remain bound to a domain where organic needs and respect for life are still moral priorities.

There is no denying that these feminine understandings often remain on an intuitive, and therefore vulnerable, level, devolve into more pernicious, indeed fascist, ideologies (witness the "Right to Life" movement). Motherhood is not, in itself, sufficient for the creation of a radical political consciousness. To date, the fact of motherhood has not undermined the brutally destructive course of society. However, the possibility and experience of motherhood provides at least the groundwork for an organic and nourishing world outlook.

It is essential that the eco-feminist movement begins to provide a coherent, theoretical framework that can nourish the intuitive sensibilities of women, validating our gut-level sympathies for the cause of life.

Jane Coleman

I am a woman come to speak for you.
I am a woman speaking for us all
From the tongue of dust and fire
From the bowl of bitter smoke.
This is a song for strength and power.

-Meridel LeSueur

review:
toward an ecological society

by MURRAY BOOKCHIN, Black Rose Books,
3981 Boul. Ste. Laurent, Montreal
H2W 1Y5, Quebec, Canada, 1981, $8.95

Toward an Ecological Society is the second major collection of essays published by Murray Bookchin. Written mostly during the early 1970's, they represent the extension and development of Bookchin's earlier collection of essays, Post-Scarcity Anarchism, which were written during the '60's. This new collection is a lucid presentation of the main issues of ecology today, bringing in the best traditions of philosophy and social theory--Aristotle, Hegel, Marx and the Frankfurt School-- and doing it in a style that makes it accessible to most ecological activists. Murray Bookchin's work is a living example of social theory that neither reduces itself to an incoherent pop sociology nor loses itself in the esoteric world of incomprehensible academia.

Bookchin's essays cover a remarkable territory. The centerpiece essay, which carries the same title as the book, is the best single statement in print today introducing the idea of Social Ecology. It develops quite lucidly the difficult questions concerning the interface between society and nature, the non-hierarchical nature of ecosystems, and the important distinction between an instrumentalist, technocratic approach to nature which Bookchin labels environmentalism and the much more dialectical, immanently ethical and radical approach of Social Ecology. Bookchin's careful study of anthropology in this piece also gives new insights and clarity to the traditional anarchist and socialist ideas of usufruct and substantive, as opposed to formal, equality. In his essay, "The Concept of Ecotechnologies and Ecocommunities", he also seeks to resolve the traditional philosophical problematic of the relationship between the divorce of society and nature in western thought and the associated drive for technological mastery.

Toward an Ecological Society also extends Bookchin's critique of Marxism. Where his earlier essay, "Listen Marxist", had been directed at the dangerous influx of orthodox 1930's style Marxism into SDS in the late 60's, his new attacks drive deeper into the body of Marx's work itself. "Marxism as Bourgeois Sociology" is vintage Bookchin; it develops Marx's relationship to the "instrumental reason" of the bourgeois Enlightenment and shows how this critical failure in Marx's work lays the basis for the unfolding historical disasters and the technocratic futurism that are being promoted in his name.

The result of Bookchin's critique of Marx is a series of masterful polemics against various reactionary trends in theory and practice today. Bookchin rails against the vacuousness and eclecticism of the recent crop of Neo-Marxist theory, particularly in Herbert Marcuse's later works, where Bookchin finds many contradictions between Marcuse's maintenance of a traditional Marxian analysis of larger social categories and his own brand of Freudian influenced emphasis on anarchism at the level of the individual. Andre Gorz, however, bears the brunt of Bookchin's polemics. Gorz's Strategy for Labor, Bookchin claims, was one of the theoretical disasters of the student movement of the 60's; its impact was instrumental in facilitating the Progressive Labor Party's infiltration of SDS, a process that initiated the fragmentation of the student movement. His present target, however, is Gorz's most recent book, Ecology as Politics. Bookchin picks apart Gorz's deficiencies one by one -- both in terms of his misinformation concerning recent american eco-politics and his glaring theoretical inconsistencies. Bookchin rightly observes Gorz's confusion--one endemic in Marxists generally--concerning issues of bureaucracy and centralization:

> "How in the name of intellectual coherence can Andre Gorz dream of a 'society without bureaucracy' whose 'major industries' (no less!) are 'centrally planned'? Note well that Gorz does not speak of planning or even of coordination or even of regionalism--but of centralization. Will these 'major industries' be centralized by mindless robots, by 'good vibes', by stoned hippies, or will they be centralized by agencies (read bureaus) which are staffed by bureaucrats? How will this planning and centralization be executed --by mutual love, by the high moral probity so nobly exhibited by the Russian Bolsheviks, or perhaps by a harsh system of obedience

and command which Engels invoked in his insidious essay, 'On Authority'?"

Bookchin's critique of Marx and his seemingly endless entourage of followers is very closely associated with his analysis of present urban ills. In his essays on the poverty of present city planning Bookchin emphasizes, as he did in his earlier book, The Limits of the City, that an analysis of our present gigantic metropolitan cancers is meaningless without an understanding of the underlying capitalist drive for power and profit. On the other hand, he also points out that the predominance of Marxian analysis has been the major reason for such a paucity of critical social analysis of the city. The overemphasis on the labor process inherent in a Marxian approach rendered the role of community as a goal in social reconstruction irrelevent, except to a few unorthodox socialists and anarchists such as Peter Kropotkin, William Morris, Paul Goodman and Louis Mumford. Yet in his discussion of the Montreal Citizens' Movement, the East 11th St. movement and the concept of a "libertarian municipalism", the community and the municipality, as opposed to the workplace and the realm of electoral politics, are seen as the only places within which to foster radical social change--to develop face-to-face democracy and the revolutionary communal context to build a libertarian movement.

If Bookchin has taken his analytical knife quite deftly to his contemporary theorists' inconsistencies, there are a few places where Bookchin has yet to clear up some of his own, particularly between his most recent statements concerning the relationship between technics, need scarcity and "post-scarcity" (as stated in his introduction, and his essays on self-management, Marx and neo-Marxism) and some of the earlier essays (such as "Toward an Ecological Society" and "Spontaneity and Organization") which much more closely approximate a position taken in Post-Scarcity Anarchism. Though Bookchin explicitly denies that there is any contradiction between his latest position and those expressed in his earlier essays, the essays themselves point out a few contradictions.

OH YES LINDA! SOMETIMES I WANT TO TAKE ALL THE BRUTAL ACTION THIS SOCIETY DEMANDS!

Linda Wiens, Annihiland

In his earlier essays, Bookchin still holds that the primary reason for the failure of pre-industrial social revolutions (Paris 1848 and 1871, Russia 1917, Germany 1919, the Spanish anarchists) was an inadequate material or technical basis, one that only has recently become adequate within the present state of technological development, which puts us today on the "threshold of a post-scarcity society". This earler position falls within the realm of a Marxian analysis, a gross distinction between the material "realm of necessity" and the social "realm of freedom", and a notion of technological neutrality that is at odds with his later essays. In "Marxism as Bourgeois Sociology" and in the introduction, Bookchin subjects Marx's dehistoricization of need and his harsh separation of the realm of necessity and the realm of freedom to a devastating critique; yet he fails to acknowledge his own use of these concepts in Post-Scarcity Anarchism and in the older essays in the new collection.

If modern technology is intrinsically authoritarian, as he states in his essay on self-management, how can this material/technological base place us on the "threshold of a post-scarcity society"? More importantly, one is tempted to ask the same questions of Bookchin that the Russian socialist Vera Zasulitch asked of Marx concerning the Russian peasantry. If all pre-industrial social formations have a fundamental inability to transcend the technical base of scarcity, must we wait for industrial capitalism to exert its "civilizing influence"? Must we wait for every one of the earth's diverse cultures to be stirred into the homogenized mush of post-industrial capitalism so they can have the potential of post-scarcity? Must every African peasant be inundated with electric can openers before the possibility for a truly libertarian revolution not weighed down totally by material scarcity can occur? Fortunately these left-over pieces of Marxian historical determinism play a relatively inconsequential role in Bookchin's new

cont. next page

REVIEW ... from pg.27

collection, just as they have in most anarchist theory and action over the past century.

Murray Bookchin's latest collection still stands as one of the finest collections of essays to appear on the left in the last ten years. His consistent condemnation of all forms of hierarchical social relations, whether they are "socialist" or "capitalist", his discussion of a more overwhelming critique of human domination than a Marxian framework can provide, and his assertion that the burgeoning feminist, ecology and community movements must stand on their own, unfettered by the ongoing attempt to mould them into pliable Marxist categories, is extremely laudable. Would that there were more of the stuff that makes Murray Bookchin's writing so exciting. Bookchin has thrown down the gauntlet at the Marxists, such that it must now border on intellectual dishonesty to go on writing traditional socialist analyses without answering his arguments, and has at the same time given the rest of us some groundwork from which to build a solid libertarian movement and ecological vision for today.

-John Ely

DEVIL ... from pg.9

We are crouching, sitting and kneeling in a clump next to the fence, as ordered, watching the authorities debate our fate. Officer Bowker, certainly an angry young man, feels some of us are still too close to standing. Patient Rage, a young draft resister in Love and Rage, is a very gentle young man, and stubborn. He's too high for Mr. Bowker.

"Get down," Bowker hisses.

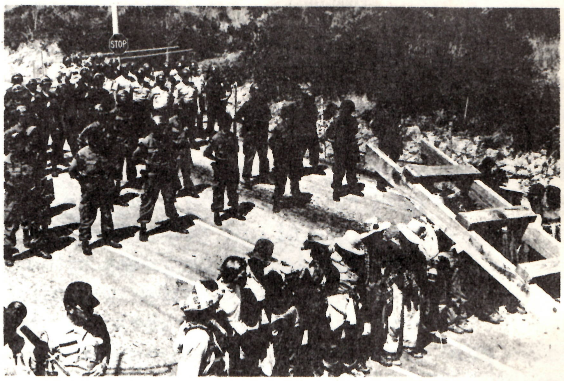
"I am down," says Patience, proving he's not.

"Get all the way down or I'll make you."

Patience is quite capable of not getting down. Why is it so important to Bowker? There's more than a whiff of the schoolyard bully about, but there are some stronger smells as well. i think of the jews who took to praying, swaying as if on a camel in holy mockery of the islamic codes that forbade jews to ride lest their heads rise above any moslems. But it isn't religious prejudice that fuels Bowker's fires...or at least no recognized religion gave him his mufti, his gun, his bullet-proof vest and riot gear. It was the state that gave him his club (to protect the people, we're told) and it is his fear of us that causes him to raise it.

But Patience lowers himself a few feet more and Bowker, feeling potent again, wanders off. Soon an agreement is reached between the CHP, Sheriffs and PG&E. Off we go to jail.

I traded my blockade button for a cup of coffee with a chicano National Guardsman who drove the Sheriffs around in the army truck. He was OK When we asked him why he was doing it he said: "You guys don't understand. I was ordered to. I'm not a cop. I'm in the army. We're on your side.". . .



Photos by Bob Chen, Steve Stallone and Bob Van Scoy, courtesy of It's About Times

Was the action a success? What's success? The Abalone Alliance is bigger and richer than it has ever been. More people know about, and care about Diablo Canyon than ever have before. Fuel loading has even stopped. So i guess it's pretty fair to call it a success. But that's pretty two dimensional a judgement. We are stronger than ever, that's good; but even more important, we are strong in many different ways. I can't help thinking of the Santa Cruz affinity groups and what the action meant to them. All the affinity groups we know of are still together, many are planning their own outreach programs and are also working on some of the actions coming up. . .

And what about the people who didn't blockade? My friends at work were very inspired. Jackrabbit's mother was blown away. In fact, it seems a fair number of families were changed by the blockade. But not all of them. My parents are used to me getting arrested and Snail's thinks she's becoming "a gypsy". Many of the workers and police were pretty affected too, i know. Juana and I met some workers one night and spent time with them. It was very intense. When Karen Narcoleptic was sentenced, she sang a song about Hiroshima. Most of the courtroom cried, including the clerk and the judge. There are a few more cracks in the wall.

> "Everything depends on what the people are capable of wanting." --Malatesta

--Crystal
Love and Rage AG
Santa Cruz, California

LOISAIDA ... from pg. 15

Many of the technologies which can provide a base for an ecological and equitable future were first proven viable for urban settings in Loisaida. That future requires a new culture. "Loisaida" is the name of both a place and an idea of a place, a culture, an attitude. But Loisaida is increasingly threatened by outside developers. The neighborhood is now being developed not by and for its residents, as was the dream of many of its citizens, but through "gentrification": the displacement of one income group by a higher income group. In Loisaida, the middle class has begun to colonize the neighborhood.

Over the past ten years, we have seen at least the beginning of gentrification, virtually every neighborhood in Manhattan and in some of the boroughs as well. This is a conscious effort by private corporate interests, developers and the City of New York, to implement a program of planned shrinkage that calls for a decrease in population density. This would occur through the elimination of poor people from the central city, and through their replacement by a stable, less numerous middle class that would place less strain on city services and increase the tax base. But the middle class will not move in until the poor are moved out.

In Loisaida the poor are being moved out by a variety of tactics. The landlords and their managing agents are using: verbal and sometimes physical harassment such as constantly knocking on doors demanding rent and trying to intimidate tenants; illegal demands for rent raises; refusal to accept rent and subsequent issuance of a disposess notice for non-payment in the hope of scaring tenants who do not know their rights; offers of money, sometimes up to $500, to move out; cutbacks on services such as heat, hot water and repairs; refusals to rent vacant apartments to Puerto Ricans, blacks, welfare recipients and the elderly.

Young white people, artists and the déclassé, seeking cheap space, play into the hands of speculators and displace low-income people. They are giving the neighborhood a "bohemian" atmosphere that attracts the middle class. Rents are being raised from $150 or $200 to $400 and even $500 a month. Eventually, fewer and fewer of the low income people for whom the Lower East Side has always been home will be able to live there. Then, even the first wave of gentrifiers will be priced out of the neighborhood.

Banks, city government and Consolidated Edison all play a part in this process. At a Rate Witholding Coalition rally at Con Ed headquarters last winter, Chino Garcia of Charas explained how Con Ed refused to let wind power from a renovated building on East 11th St. enter the power grid until they were forced to do so by the courts. Alternatives which allow communities to control their own development will not be allowed without a fight. The Brooklyn Anti-Nuclear Group (BANG) has discovered how Con Edison's own neighborhood renewal program, "The Renaissance Program", brings together banks and developers to create upper income housing and force out low income people from Park Slope, Brooklyn and other "Renaissance" communities in the city.

An alternative exists. We can build relatively self-reliant communities that own and manage their own resources, that generate much of their own food, energy, decent employment and housing for all their citizens. The degree to which Loisaida has achieved, and continued to try to achieve, that kind of community makes it unique. Its survival, and the survival of efforts inspired by it in other cities, should be of special concern to ecological activists.

-Dan Chodorkoff and friends

emma

... from pg.3

O Emma, peer of the immortals, daughter of aegis-bearing Zeus, vouchsafe me that I might endure this land of unloved peoples and impure waters until that time when it be the will of the son of scheming Cronus to deliver me unto Vermont, where the mules run free and the men wear hair about their faces, even as the mighty lion's mane sprouts forth beneath his jaw.

And I make this promise: that to you I shall roast the fatted thigh-bones of six young oxen that have never felt the weight of the yoke upon their shoulders.

--J. Yoder, Son of John
Carteret, New Jersey

Dear Son of John,

Don't forget to bring the chopped liver.

Anarchist directory

Anarchist Black Dragon, Soly/Comm Publishers, CP2 Succ La Cite, Montreal, Quebec Canada H2W2M9 Written in Washington State Penitentiary(Walla-Walla).

Anarchy Rag, 543 2nd St., San Francisco, Ca. 94107. Letters and poetry from the SF anarchist community.

Bayou La Rose, 3525 J'ravier, New Orleans, La. 70119. News and analysis from the deep South--latest on Kamalla's politically-charged custody battle.

Bulldozer, P.O. Box 5052, Station A, Toronto, Ontario M5W1WY,"The only vehicle for prison reform".

Commonwoman, 17 Cedar St., Burlington, Vt. 05401 Vermont's widest-read womyn's newspaper, with a strong anarchafeminist influence.

Direct Current, PO Box 483, Hardwick, Vt. 05843. News of the anti-powerline struggle in Vermont.

Dis*Ease, Falling Sky Books, 97 Victoria St. N. Kitchener, Ontario, N2H5C1.

Emancipation, PO Box 840, Benjamin Franklin Sta. Wash. D.C. 20044. Newsletter of the Anarchist Association of the Americas, emphasis on local actions with ties to other struggles. Planning a Mid-Atlantic Anarchist Conference in May,1982.

Fifth Estate, 4403 2nd Ave. Detroit, Mi. 48201 Long renowned for its biting satire and angry polemics. Doesn't appear as regularly as it used to.

Freedom, A Distribution, c/o 84b Whitechapel High Street, London E1, ENGLAND --An anarchist fortnightly from Margaret Thatcher's turf. Indispensable for news from Brixton or Belfast, special articles (Lao Tzu and Anarchism) and reviews.

Front Line, PO Box 21071, Wash. D.C. 20009. Local and national news and analysis from a clear anarchist perspective.

Gay Community News, 22 Bromfield St., Boston, Ma. 02108. Biweekly news, analysis and discussion of the most burning issues in the gay community, plus reviews, calendar, etc.

Growing Without Schooling, Holt Associates, 308 Boylston St., Boston, Ma. 02116. John Holt's ongoing correspondence with parents from across the US seeking to educate their children outside of institutionalized schools.

IBM Workers United, Box 356 Johnson City, NY--Exploring the possibilities in white-collar organizing.

It's About Times, 944 Market, Rm 307, SF, CA 94102 --Newsletter of the Abalone Alliance. Latest on Diablo Canyon, weapons labs, alternatives, national and international anti-nuclear efforts, from a solidly libertarian ecological perspective.

LEAF/North American Anarchist Network, POB 18488, Denver, CO 80218 --Cooperative mailing service for anarchist publications and leaflets from across the country. They will mail anything they receive 50 copies of in their bimonthly packets.

National No Nukes Prison Support Collective,--Box 1812, Madison, WI 53701 --Covers many little-publicized actions and groups across the country.

New Indicator, Student Organizations, UCSD, La Jolla, CA 92093 --Student newspaper with anarchist/left slant. Good coverage of national and regional news in addition.

North Shore Coalition for Survival, 253 Lafayette, Salem, MA 01970 --Monthly newsletter covering anti-nuclear activities in northern Massachusetts and links with broader issues.

No More Cages, c/oWomen Free Women in Prison, Box 90, Brooklyn, NY 11215.

Open Road, Box 6135, Station G, Vancouver, BC V6R 4G5 CANADA --Having severe financial problems, but still the most consistently informative anarchist publication in North America. Current issue has features on Poland, child-rearing and a workers take-over of Canada Bell.

Our Generation, 3934 Rue St.Urbain, Montreal, Quebec --Continuously published since the late 1960's, features detailed analysis of local, national and international issues with a coherent grounding in anarchist theory.

Off Our Backs, 1724 20th NW, DC 20009. A well-known feminist publication. Should be more widely read.

RFD, RT.1, Box 127E,Bakersville, NC 28705 --"The country journal for gay men everywhere." Covers both political and spiritual movements, poetry, art, etc.

Processed World, 55 Sutter #829, SF, CA 94104 --For those of us (this typist included!) who wage-slave in offices, tools for organizing.

Re/search, 20 Romolo #B, SF, CA 94133 --I hesitate to say this, but Re/search seems to be in the vanguard of an anarchist/punk synthesis.

Red and Black , POB 5507, Chicago, IL 60680 --Newsletter from Chicago's ACF affiliate. Labor news, anti-Reaganism, etc.

Scoop, c/o All-Cooperating Assembly, POB 14440 Minneapolis, MN 55414 --News from Minnesota's blossoming network of consumer and producer co-ops.

Social Text, 700 W.Badger Rd, Madison, WI 53713 --A mass culture journal a la Cultural Correspondence.

Sprouts, Self-Reliance Center, 140 W.State, Ithaca, NY 14850 --News from one of the most conscious areas in the Northeast in terms of co-ops and community self-reliance efforts.

Strike, POB 2, Station O, Toronto, Ontario M4A 2M8 --From the remains of the "North American Anarchist" collective. Mostly labor and international issues from an anarcho-syndicalist perspective. Big on "science" and "progress."

Synthesis, League for Ecological Democracy, POB 1858, San Pedro, CA 90733 --Back after a long pause and a transformation from a primarily economic to a social ecological perspective. Reviews, analysis, letters, etc. May 1981 issue contains their new policy statement.

Tabloid, Box 3243, Stanford, CA 94305 -- "Review of Mass Culture and Everyday Life." Summer 1981 issue contains incisive collective statement on "the Militarization of Everyday Life."

Toronto Clarion, 73 Bathurst, Toronto, Ontario M5V 2P6 --Local and regional news, labor, ecology, etc.

Vortex, POB 11622, SF, CA 94101 --"Journal of New Vision" -Politics and spirituality, original art, poetry, reviews.

Work and Pay, c/oHaight-Ashbury Switchboard, 1338 Haight, SF, CA 94117 --Biting analysis of market society and corporate ideology. Great cartoons and "ads."

announcements

*Open Road, the anarchist newspaper from Vancouver, is on the verge of bankruptcy. They need to raise $2000 before their current issue, Number 13, can go to press. Send your $$$ to Box 6135, Station G, Vancouver V6R 4G5, B.C.

*Speaking of atrocities like money, printing and mailing this issue of Black and Green will have exhausted all the money we raised at the first two meeting meetings of the New England Anarchist Conference. If you like what you see & would like to see more, please subscribe now. The rate is $3 for 4 issues, more if you can, less if you can't, of course We can no longer afford to send stuff out to NEAC people whom we have not heard from since last January (see below)

*We also have some goodies for sale to help keep B&G afloat. We have NEW ENGLAND ANARCHIST CONFERENCE T-SHIRTS, in your favorite shades of black with green lettering for $4 (or best offer). And we have a few copies of the Linda Wiens/Annihiland poster, Still Life in the Inner Circle: see the likes of Edward G. Robinson, Bette Davis, Francois Truffaut and others struggling to lead Politically Correct lives! Only $2 including postage to NEAC. Larger quantities are available from PO Box 40256, San Francisco, Ca. 94140.

*This issue of Black and Green was printed at the Rhode Island Alternative Press, a collectively owned and operated print shop guided by the principles of self-empowerment, equality, freedom of expression and dignity for all peoples. They can be contacted c/o 141½ Penn St., Providence, Rhode Island 02909

*Contribute to the Internationalist Art Show:Anti-WW3, a travelling exhibit of collective outrage by artists and writers from 45 countries. Send Xerox, photos, drawings, paintings, poetry, music cassettes, etc. to SF Poster Brigade, POB 31428, SF, Calif. 94131.

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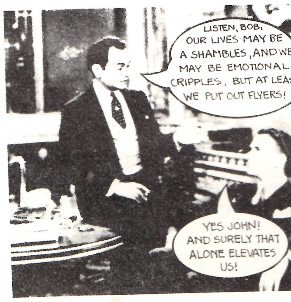
LISTEN, BOB, OUR LIVES MAY BE A SHAMBLES, AND WE MAY BE EMOTIONAL CRIPPLES, BUT AT LEAST WE PUT OUT FLYERS!
YES JOHN! AND SURELY THAT ALONE ELEVATES US!

Linda Wiens, Annihiland

CHOOSE ONE : that's enough

a. too much money

b. liberal guilt

c. not doing other political work

d. committed to supporting Ⓐwork

e. consider myself a N.E. Anarchist

f. Robin Hood

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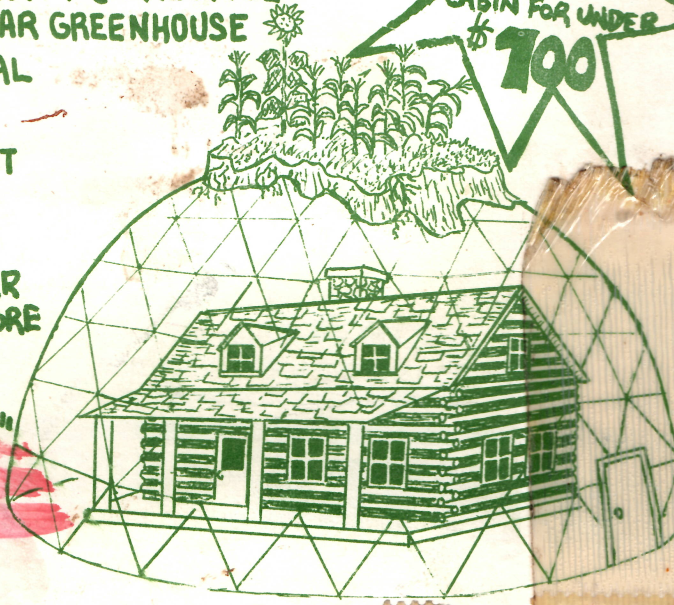

PLUS: ANARCHISTS IN VERMONT ARE GROWING AVOCADOS YEAR ROUND WITH WASTE HEAT FROM THEIR HOMES, RECYCLING DOG STOOLS, HOW TO ROLL NEWSPAPER TO PLUG DRAFTY DOORS...AND MORE PLUS A BONUS "LIBERATE MOST ANYTHING"

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